1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

481 and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a [484] small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

501 The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

396 This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

[531] The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

501 Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

501 Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks.
226 The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

396 Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara,
439 where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

241 Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
591 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[n]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[n] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.